5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[175 782 825] you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyom kan ingwil kakwat*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

[553]

[782 825]

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*sowet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

[304 782]

Cowechik, chikwe ilowy ne kiptwo,
Spirits, give us animal which we may kill;
chikwe kowsik ne kiptilyo.
Give us honey enough to satisfy us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *kokowek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cowechik, ogilyan emdit,
Spirits, fill us with food,
ei kiptilyo ungat.
That we may be filled with health.

[782 825]

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Kenyon ei kiptilyo, koro ne kowa chu ne asiosi, ei kosap*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

976

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. [illegible] A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn right across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1937 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoren and Timogo, with

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or goat when the Dorobo are concerned); *mwaii ap tangina*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i. e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nandi *diviner* of the kind called *sakeyuat*. Diviners used to charge the Dorobo a fee of 2/ – if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *known for*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nandi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face of said: "Come and oil So-and-so that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat with *mwaii ap tangina*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *kwat*.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dorobo for many years they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dorobo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dorobo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nandi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, a Dorobo go to the Nandi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nandi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dorobo; and the witch is then dealt with according to Nandi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dorobo against the Nandi in 1939 was that they did not want Dorobo to live in the Nandi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nandi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dorobo go to a Nandi *diviner* (*sakeyuat*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, or the people among them known as *orkoiik* are not, like the Nandi *orkoi*-diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with herbal *medicines*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nandi would call *kiplamwaiik*. These *orkoiik* (sing. *orkoiyot*), besides being able to cure herbal medicines, sometimes also to prescribe specific forms of diet, cure also the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *kipsyonet* seeds (called *kipsonek* in Nandi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *sarandat* tree, each about 3 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

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Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take dislikes to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which wakes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and to cure him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: *Ui, ui*, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then rub their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: *Omenda anyun, ateiyo ak kakak*, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men etc.; after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukuyiat* (*Strychnos* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control